The Nashville Patriot.

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Office No. 16, ; ; ; ; Deaderick Street.

Governor Walker's Letter.

We yield most of our space this morning to the letter of resignation of Gov. WALKER. We have refrained from publishing the telegraph's copies, for the reason that we preferred to give the document entire, as a matter of justice to Gov. WAIEER, as well as for the information of our readers. Much of the letter is taken up with the Governor's individual opinions of popular sovereignty, as now and at various or rejection. other times held by him.

These opinions are in perfect accordance with the radical views and extreme tendencies of modern, progressive democracy. Whilst we hold to the correctness of the high and liberal principles of popular sovereignty, as applied in the organization of free Republics, such as ours, we dissent from the modern theories whose "logical consequences" may be carried so far as to create and sustain a spirit of mobocracy scarcely less violent than red republicanism, or less dangerous than Jacobinism in full swing.

The Governor makes a strong point against the President in declaring that he has, in all his official acts in Kansas, but obeyed the instructions sent him from Washington, a fact which none but the most violent partizans have ever been found to deny. If the Governor is entitled to credit, his statements certainly place the President in a most awkward position, to say the least. And to those of our democratic friends, such as the Richmond Enquirer, who, while sustaining Walker and the President last summer, conceded that he had gone beyond the strict line of his duty, in propounding his "isothermal theory," and demanding a submission of the constitution, as a whole, to a direct wote of all the people, his declaration that his addresses and speeches were delivered in the nature of official produmations, will come gratingly. We leave these points for reconciliation to those who have the deepest interest in them.

The strongest point, and the only one of any serious import, made against the action of the Lecompton Convention by the retiring Governor, is the deficiency of registration under the territorial law. It is alleged that nineteen counties were neither registered, nor voted for delegates, to the Convention. This was either the fault of the officers appointed to make the registration or of the citizens refusing to be registered; and the abolitionists and national democracy may settle this question among

But notwithstanding this, Secretary STANTON and Gov. WALKER, after him, and even after the election of delegates, repeatedly said that the Laws of the Territorial Legislature should be respected and obeyed. On the arrival of STANTON, in advance of WALKER, he laid down this policy, and when told by the free-State men that they would not obey these laws, he replied, "then it is war to the knife, and the knife to the hilt." The Legislature of the Territory was silent as to the submission of the Constitution, leaving that question entirely in the breast of the Convention. The exercise of that discretion became, therefore, a part of the territorial law; and according to the pledge to sustain the laws, we cannot see wherein his letter relieves him. No fine-spun theories will answer the purpose. We have not time to enter further into the subject this morning. We of our readers.

Christmas.

We cannot allow this, the holiday of all Christendom, to pass without extending our especial greetings to the patrons and readers of the PATRIOT. To each and all of them we most cordially and sincerely wish a "MERRY CHRISTMAS!" It is a glorious boon to be cheerful and joyous. As the panorama of the passing year is receiving the finishing touches of the pencil of time, and is soon to be rolled up as a scroll, and delivered into the hands of the Past, to be unrolled again only at the final Exhibition, it is a soul-gladdening anticipation, that our deeds and motives will be such as to entitle us to a place in the eternal heraldry of Heaven.

It is especially a glorious boon to be cheerful and joyous on this, the birth-day of the great Author of the Golden Rule, and the orator of the sermon on the Mount-the epitome of the whole volume | phemous doctrine was, that apvereigns in legiti- differ with me on this point must concede, especialof Justice, and the synopsis of Heaven's | mate succession stated with lafamy, were clothed by conventions can be called sovere

As a nation, we are prosperous; as a people, happy-and if we have been individually true to ourselves as citizens, as members of the brilliant frame-work of civilized, enlightened Society, as fathers, mothers, and children, that boon is ours.

Let us, therefore, enjoy it, and be merry -rationally, hopefully and gloriously merry. Let the recollections of the closing year overcast the soul, filled with active and generous sympathies, with a halo of gladness and joyousness, as the going down of the sun, at the end of the clear autumn day, overspreads the heavens with the halo of scintillations, as bright, as pure, as gentle and as lovely. Once more from our heart a "MERRY CHRISTMAS" to one

The Washington Union is authorised to state that the Postmaster General will inot permit postmasters to make any reduction in their commissions in mailing lottery circulars. Six postmasters were reprimanded yesterdsy for violations of their duty in this respect, and informed that a repetition of the offence moval.

Letter of Hon. Robert J. Walker. RESIGNING THE OFFICE OF

GOVERNOR OF KANSAS. WASHINGTON CITY, December 15, 1857.

Hon. LEWIS CARR, Secretary of State, Sis: I resign the office of Governor of the Territory of Kunsas. I have been most reluctantly forced to this conclusion, after anxious and careful people of Kansas, to the President of the United States, and to mys lf.

message to Congress, and in recent instructions in and in Kansas, admonish me, that, as governor of properve the peace or promote the public welfare. At the carnest solicitation of the President, after repeated refusals, the last being in writing, I finally accepted this office, upon his letter showing the dangers and difficulties of the Kansas question, and the necessity of my undertaking the task of adjustment. Under these circumstances, notwithstanding the great secrifices to me personal, political and pecuniary, I felt that I could no more refuse suca call from my country, through her C ief Magistrate, than the soldier in battle who is ordered to

command a forlorn hope. I accepted, however, on the express condition that I should advocate the submission of the constitution to the vote of the people for ratification

of the 26th of March last, and reiterated in my inaugural address of the 27th of May last, as follows: "Indeed I cannot doubt that the convention, after having framed a State constitution, will submit it for ratification or rejection by a majority of the

then actual bona fide resident settlers of Kansas. and Cabinet, and approved by them, I accepted structions from the President, through the Secretary of State, under date of the 30th March last, sustain 'the regular legislature of the Territory' in 'assembling a convention to form a omatilution,' and they express the opinion of the President, that 'when such a constitution shall be submitted to the people of the Territory, they must be protected in the exercise of their RIGHT of voting FOR or AGANST that instrument; and the fair expression of the popular will must not be interrupted by fraud

"I repeat, then, as my clear conviction, that une less the convention submit the constitution to the vote of all the actual resident settlers of Kansas.

This Inaugural most distinctly asserted that it was not the question of slavery merely (which I bel eved to be of little practical importance then in its application to Kansas) but the entire constitution which should be submitted to the people for ratification or rejection. These were my words on that subject in my Inuagural. "It is not merely shall slavery exist in or disappear from Kansas, but shall the great principles of self-government and State sovereignty be maintained or subverted?" In that Inaugural I proceed further to say, that the people "may by a subsequent vote defeat the ratification of the constitution." I designate this asa "great constitutional right," and add "that the convention is the servant and not the master of

qualified." By that Inaugural and subsequent adoppose by all "lawful means" the adoption of any constitution which was not fairly and fully submit ted to their votes for ratification or rejection. These pledges I cannot recall or violate without personal dishonor and the abandonment of fundsmental principles, and therefore it is impossible for the people for ratification or rejection.

I have ever uniformly maintained the principle, that sovereignty is vested exclusively in the people function in forming a State government and State constitution. This highest act of sovereignty, in my judgment, can only be performed by the people themselves, and cannot be delegated to conven-

tions or other intermediate bodies. Indeed the whole doctrine of the sovereignty of of convention or delegated sovereignty, as contradistinguished from State or popular sovereignty, has ever been discarded by me, and was never heard of, to my knowledge, during the great can-State rights and State sovereignty maintained in the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798, 9, sustained by the people in the great political revolution of 1800, and embraced in that amendment pices of Mr. Jefferson, declaring that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor probibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States, respectively orto the peo

The reservation to "the States" is as separate States, in exercising the powers granted by their State constitutions, and the reservation to "the people" is to the people of the several States admitof framing or amending their State constitution.

This view was set forth in my printed address against pullification, which speech received the complimentary sanction of the great and good Madison, the principal founder of our Constitution, as shown by the letter of Hon. Charles J. Ingersoll, of Philadelphia, as published in the Globe, commend the letter to the careful perusal by Mr. Madison that these were also the views of Mr. Jefferson. By this clause of the federal Consti tution the sovereignty of the people of each State is sive sovereign right to form in all its entirety their own State constitution.

question at this period, but will merely state that reasons for entertaining this opinion are clearly and distinctly set forth in a printed pamphlet puband then extensively circulated, from which I quote

"Under our confederate system, sovereignty is that highest political power which, at its pleasure, creates governments and delegates authority to them. Sovereignty grants powers, but not soveregin powers, otherwise it might extinguish itself by making the creature of its will the equal or superior of its creator. Sovereignty makes constitutions, and through them establishes governments. It delegates certain powers to these governments, distributing the exercise of the granted power among the legislative, executive and judicial departments. The constitution is not sovereign, because it is created by sovereignty. The governpower with its source of exercis -- that is, sove- to the convention? reighty is one thing; where it resides or how to be

the governing power of the Almighty."

"The Constitution of the United States is the were entirely disfranchised, and could not and did at the date of my appointment. Such in-

sovereignty, but only delegated powers, to them alone it must look for the exercise of all constitutional authority, in Territories as well as States, for there is not a single power granted by the Constitution to this povernmentin a Territory which is not granted in a State, except the power to consideration of my duty to the country, to the admit new States into the Union, which, as shown by the Madison Papers, the framers of the Contitution (as first demonstrated in my Texas letter) The grounds assumed by the President in his late refused to limit to our then existing Territories. In the Territories, then, as well as the States, connection with the events now transpiring here | Congress possesses no sovereignty, and can exercise only the powers delegated by the Constithat Territory, it will no longer be in my power to | tution, and all the powers not thus granted are dorment or reserved powers, belonging, in comtenants there of that | ighest political power cal-

ed sovereignty. It will be perceived that this doctrine, that "soverelenty m kes constitutions," that "sovereignty rests exclusively with the people of each State," that "sovereignty cannot be delegated," that "it is instienable, indivisible," "a unit incapable of partition," are doctrines ever regarded by me a fundamental principles of public liberty, and of the Federal Constitution. It will be seen that these views, which I have ever entertained, were not framed to suit any emergency in Kansas, but were my lite-long principles, and were published and promulgated by me, in an elaborate ar ument over These views were clearly understood by the my own signature, twelve months before my de President and all his Cabinet. They were distinct parture to that Territory, and when I never thought ly set forth in my letter of acceptance of this office of going to Kansas. These rights I have ever r garded as fully secured to the people of "all the Territories," in adopting their State constitution, by the Kansas and Nebraska bill. Such is the construction given to that act by Congress in passing the Minne-ota bill, so justly applauded by the President. Such is the construction of this Kan-"With these views well known to the President | sas act by its distinguished author, not only in his late most able argument, but in addresses made the appointment of Governor of Kansas. My in- | and published by him long autocedent to that date, showing that this sovereign power of the people in acting upon a State constitution, is not confined to the question of slavery, but includes all other subjects embraced in such an instrument. Indeed I believe the Kansas and Nebraska bill would have riolated the rights of sovereignty reserved to the people of each State by the Federal Constitution, f it had deprived them, or Congress should now deprive them, of the right of voting for or against their State constitution. The President, in his message, thinks that the rights secured by this oill to the people, in setting upon their State contitution, are confined to the slavery question, but I think, as shown in my address before quoted, and the election be fairly and justly conducted, the | that "sovereignty is the power that makes consticonstitution will be, and ought to be, rejected by tutions and governments;" and that not only the slavery clause in a State constitution, but all others. must be submitted. The President thinks that sovereignty can be delegated, at least in part. I think sovereignty cannot be delegated at all. The President believes that sovereignty is divisible between conventions and the people, to be exercised by the former on all subjects but slavery, and by the latter only on that question. Whereas, I think that soy reingty is "inalienable," "indivisible," "a unit capable of partition," and "that it cannot be deegated," in whole or in part.

It will not be denied that sovereignty is the only ower that can make a State constitution, and that rests exclusively with the people, and if it is indienable, and cannot be delegated, as I have shown then it can only be exercised by the people them selves .- Under our government, we know no sove-In my official dispatch to you of 2d June last, a reigns but the people. Conventions are compo a copy of that inaugural address was transmitted to ed of "delegates." They are mere agents or you for the further information of the President | trustees, exercising not a severeign but a delegated and his Cabinet. No exception was ever taken to power, and the people are the principals. The any portion of that address; on the contrary, it is power delegated to such conventions can properly distinctly admitted by the President in his mes- only extend to the framing of the constitution, but sage, with commendable frankness, that my instruc. its ratification or rejection can only be performed tions in favor of the submission of the constitution | by the power where sovereignty alone rests, nameto the vote of the people were "general and un. ly, the people themselves. We must not confound sovereign with delegated powers. The provisiondresses, I was pl dged to the people of Kansas to | al authority of a convention to frame a constitution, and submit it to the people, is a delegated power; but sovereignty alone, which rests exclusively with the people, can ratify and put in force

And this is the true doctrine of popular soveeingnty, and I know of no such thing, nor does me to support what is called the Lecompton con- the federal constitution recognise it, as delegated stitution, because it is not submitted to a vote of or conventional sovereignty. The Presi ent, in a very lucid passage of his able massage, gives unanswerable reasons why the people, and not conventions, should decide the question of slavery in of each State, and it performs its first and highest | framing a State constitution. - He says very truly, that from the necessary division of the inchoate State into districts, a mojority of the delegates may think one way, and the people another, and that the delegates (as was the case in Kansas) may violate their pledges or fail to execute the will of the people. And why does not this reasoning apconventions, an distinct from that of the people - ply with equal force to all other great question embodied in a State constitution, and why should the juestion of slavery alone override and extinguish the doctrine of popular sovereignty and the right of self-government? Most fortunately this is no vas of 1856. Indeed this is the great principle of sectional question, for it belongs alike to the States admitted or inchoste, of the South as of the North. It is not a question of slavery, but of State and popular sovereignty, and my objections to the Lecompton constitution are equally strong, whether to the federal constitution adopted under the auss | Kansas under its provisions should be made a free or slave State. My objections are based upon a violation of the right of self-government and of State and popular sovereignty, and of forcing any constitution upon the people against their will, whether it recognised freedom or slavery. Indeed the first question which the people ought to decide in forming a government for an inchoate State, is, whether they will change or not from a Territorial to a State government. Now as Ino one who, d or inchoate, in exercising their sovereign right | with me, denies Federal or Territorial sov reignty, wil leontend that a Territorial legislature is sovereign, or represents sovereign y, or that such legisladelivered at Natchez, Mississippi, in January, 1838, ture (a mere creation of Congress) can transfer soverereignty, which it does not possess, to a Territoria convention, this change from a Territorial to a State government can only be made by the power where sovereignty rests-pamely, the people. Yet a State government is forced upon the people of at Washington, in 1838. What adds much to the Kansas by the Lecompton constitution, whether force of this opinion is the statement then made they will it or not, for they can only vote for the Kansas by the Lecompton constitution, whether constitution, and not against it. But besides the change from a Territorial to a State government, which the people alone have a right to make i clearly reserved, and especially their own exclu | framing a State constitution, there are many other nomentous questions included in that instrument. It involves all the powers of State government I shall not enter fully into the argument of this | There is the Bill of Rights, the magna charta or the liberties of a free people; the legislative, exthis is the position I have ever occupied, and my ecutive, and judicial functions; the taxing power; the elective tranchise; the great question of education; the sacred relations of husband and wife, lished over my signature, on the 13th June, 1856, parent and child, guardian and ward; and all the rights affecting life, liberty and property. There is also the question of State debts, of banks and paper money, and whether they shall be p-rmitted probibited. As all free governments, as stated Mr. Jefferson in the Declaration of Indepenerce, depends upon "the consent of the governed,"how can it be known whether the people would assent to the constitution unless it is submitted to their vote for ratification or rejection? But if acquiescence can be presumed in any case, surely it cannot be in that of Kansas, where so many of the delegates violated their pledge to submit the constitution itself to a vote of the people, where the ment is not sovereignty, for the same reason, much one half the counties of Territory were disfranchis-

delegates who signed the constitution represented scarcely one tenth of the people, and where nearly less any department of that government. Having | ed, and, (by no fault of theirs,) did not and could defined sovereignty, we must not confound the not give a single vote at the election for delegates I have heretofore discussed this subject mainly exercised is another. Under the system of Euro- on the question that conventions are not sovereign, pean despotisms, sovereignty was claimed to re- and cannot rightfully make a State constitution side in kings and emperors, under the sacrilegious | without submission to the vote of the people for idea of the 'divine right of kings;' and the blas- ratification or rejection; yet surely even those who mate succession afthough stained with crimes | y under the Kansas Nebraska bill, it is only such most resplendent and precious promises to Drity with absolute power to rule their shujects, truly elected by the people and represent their who held nothing but privileges granted by the will. On reference, however, to my address of crown. Such were the absurb and impious dog- the 16th September last, on the tax qualification mas to which the people of Europe, with few ex- question-a copy of which was immediately transceptions, have been compelled to submit by the mitted to you for the information of the President bayonet, sustained by the more potent authority | and Cabinet -- it is evident that the Lecompton conof ignorance and superstition. Under this theory, vention was not such a body. That convention the people were mere all were, and crowned heads had vital, not technical defects in the very substance sub-dilities the sole representatives on earth of of its organization under the Territori I law, which could only be cured, in my judgment, as set forth "Our doctrine is just the reverse, making the in my Inaugural and other address s, by the subpeople the only source of sovereign power. But | mission of the constitution for ratification or rejecwhat people! With us, sovereignly rests exclusive- tion by the people. On reference to the Territoly with the people of each State By the Reva rial law under which the convention was as-embled, plution, each colony, acting for itself alone, sep- thirty-four regularly organized countries were nomarated from Great Britain, and sanctioned the ed as election districts for delegates to the conven-Declaration of Independence." "Each colony hav- tion. In each and all of these counties, it was reng thus become a State, and each adopting for | quired by law that a cersus should be taken and itself a separate State government, acted for it- the voters registered; and when this was completed, self alone in acceding to the Articles of Confed- the delegates to the convention should be apporeration 1778; and each State acted for itself alone | tioned accordingly. In nineteen of these counties in framing and ratifying, each for itself, the Con- there was no census, and therefor could be no stitution of the United States. Sovereignty, then, such apportionment there of delegates based upon with us, rests exclusively with the people of such census. And in fifteen of these countries each State. The Constitution of the United there was no registry of voters. These fifteen States, each exercising for itself that highest po- counties, including many of the oldest organized lisical power called sovereignty. For the same counties of the Territory, were entirely disfranreason the government of the United States is chised, and did not give a solitary vote for delenot sovereign, nor does it exercise any sovereign gates to the convention. This result was superinpowers. It exercises only 'delegated powers,' as | duced by the fact that the Territorial legislature leclared by the Constitution, and those powers appointed all the sherif; and probate judges in all only which are granted by that instrument. Del- these counties, to whose as assigned the duty by egated powers are not sovereign powers, but are law of making this could and registry. These powers granted by sovereignty. Sovereignty, be- officers were political partizans, dissenting from ng the highest political power, cannot be dele- the views and opinions of the people of these gated-it is indivisible-it is a unit, incapable of counties, as proved by the election in October last. partition. Hence the great error of supposing These officers, from want of funds as they allege, and that, as Governor as of Kanssa, I should be hat sovereignty is divided between the States and neglected or refused to take any census or make compelled to carry out new instructions, differany registry in these counties; and therefore they ing, on a vital question, from those received

were those sovereignties called the States, each | counties where the voters were fairly registered and | no alternative is left me but to resign the office of acting exclusively for itself, uncontrolled by any did not vote. In such counties, where a full and governor of the Territory of Kansas. sister State, except by the moral force of its in- free opportunity was given to register and vote, fluence and example. The Government of the and they did not choose to exercise that privilege, necessity; but it arises from no change of opinion United States possessing, as we have shown, no | the question is very different from those counties | on my part. On the contrary, I should most obserwhere there was no census or registry, and no | fully have returned to Kansas to carry out my orious the people might be to participate in the election, and finally settle the Kanaus question of delegates to the convention. Nor could it | tion by redeeming my pledges to the people. be said these counties acquiesced, for wherever is not my intention to discuss, at this time, the perthey endeavored by a subsequent census or regis- culiar circumstances and un spected events which try of their own to supply this defect occasioned | have modified the opinions of the President upon delegates thus chosen were rejected by the con- tion for ratification or rejection by the vote of the vention. I repeat, that in rineteen counties out of peopl -much less do I desire any controversy thirty-four, there was no census. In fifteen coun- with the President on this subject; yet, lowever ties out of thirty four there was, no registry, and | widely my views may differ from those entertainnot a solitary vote was given or could be given for by him on this question-views which I have held counties. Surely, then, it cannot be said that such principles of public lib rty and of the constitution mon territory, to all the States, as co-rqual joint a convention, chosen by scarcely more than ones are unchangeable wet, as regards all those great tenth of the present voters of Kansas, represented | democratic measures which, I trust, will constitu sent. These nineteen countles in which there was | yield my cor list support no census, constituted a majority of the counties I have said that the slavery question as a practiof the Territory, and these fifteen counties in calissue had disappeared from Kansas long before

to the delegates who signed the Lecompton con has provailed upon that subject, and show that stitution on the 7th of November last. surely it must be only in such cases as when such as proved by the official records of Congress conventions are chosen by the people, which we published and authenticated by those distinguish have seen was not the case as regards the late L - Southern Statesmen, John C. Calhoun, and Jeffer compton convention. It was for this, among other | son Divis, the winter climate, ev n of E stern I insisted that the constitution should be submit- that the pro-slavery Territorial convention of Kan an inevitable war and conflict with the troops in a small admitted minority," "and the co-ope must have ensued, these results were prevented by ation of the Free State democrats was invited, but the people of Kansas-that in my judgment but to make it a conservative democrat free State. ly for ratification or rejection by their vote, and democratic Territorial convention assembled at L that if this was not done, I would unite with them,

The power and responsibility being devolved ex clusively upon the President, of using the federal army in Kansas to suppress insurrection, the alternative was distinctly presented to me by the questions propounded at Topeka, of arresting revolution by the slaughter of the people, or of preventiog it, together with that civil war which must have extended throughout the Union, by the sols emn assurance then given, that the right of the people to frame their own government, so far as my power extended, should be maintained. But for this assurance, it is a conceded fact, that the sued, extending, it is feared, throughout the Union. tained. In truth I had to choose between arrestble catastrophe, as I did, by my pledges to the the Kussas and Nebraska bill was pending in Co tion to the vote of the people for ratification or re

My inaugural and other addresses were, there- it seems that all persons in and out of Kansas fore, really in the nature of proclamations, (so of- whether in public or in private life, may publish ten issued by presidents and governors,) with a | what opinions they please in regar : to these quesand insurrection.

Now, by my oath of office, I was sworn to support the Constitution of the United States, which I have shown, in my judgment, required the subion of the constitution to the vote of the peo-I was sworn also to "take care" that the Kansas and Nebraska bill "should be faithfully executed," which bill, in my judgment, as heretogovernor of the Territory, to whose people my first obligations were due. I endeavored to secure to them these results. The idea entertained by me that I should see the Federal Constitution and the Kansas Nebraska bill overthrown and disregarded, and that, playing the part of a mute in a pantomime of ruin, I should acquiesce by my silence in such a result, especially where such acquiescence involved, as an immediate consequence, di-astrons and sanguinary civil war, seems to me most prosperous. Not a drop of blood has been shed by the Federal troops in Kansas during my inistration. But insurrection and civil war, extending. I fear, throughout the country, were alone prevented by the course pursued by me on those occasions, and the whole people, abandoning

revolutionary violence, were induced by me to go, for the first time, into a general and peaceful elec-These important results constitute a sufficient consolation for all the unjust assaults made upon me on this su ject. I do not understand that these assaults have ever received the slightest ntenance from the President; on the contrary, his message clearly indicates an approval of my Tressury, with the approbation of the President, course up to the present most unfortunate differ. but shill in no case exceed six per cent pr ence about the so-called Lecompton constitution. annum. The residue shall be raised in whole Inasmuch, however, as this difference is upon a or in part, after public advertisement of not less vital question, involving practical results and new | than thirty days, as the Secretary of the Treasury the President on my part to resign the office of for spicie, to bidders who shall agree to make the Governor, and giving him an opportunity of filling | exchange at the lowest rate of interest, not to exit, as is his right under the Constitution, with one | ceed six per cent., provided that after the maturity who concurs with him in his present opinions, rather than go to Kansas, and force! bim to remove me by disobedience to his instructions. This latter course, in my judgment would be in- given by the Secretary of the Treasury, payment compatible with proper respect for the Chief Mag- on the redemption of such not a shall be made to strate of the Union, inconsistent with the rules of the lawful holders thereof respectively, upon premoral rectitude or propriety, and could be adopted | sentation at the Treasury, and shall include the with no other view than to force the President to | principal of each note and the interest which may remove me from office. Such course, it is alleged, be due thereon. The faith of the United States is would present me to the public as a political mar. | solemnly pledged for the redemption of the notes, tyr in the defence of the great principle of self- and no notes shall be hypothecated, sold, or disgovernment; but to go to Kansas with any such purpose, or with a certain knowledge that such a ly or indirectly, for any sum less than the amount result must follow, would be alike unjust and im- of such notes, including the principal and interest. proper. My only alternative, then, is that of a | The notes shall be transferre | by an assignment, respectful resignation, in the hope that Kansas and endorsed thereon by the persons to whose order our beloved country may be shielded from that civil the same shall be made payable, accompanied by war with which I fear both are threatened, by any | the delivery of a notice that they have been so asstempt to force the so called Lecompton constion upon the people of Kansas.

vention. Some who are opposed to paper money, because it authorizes a bank of enormous capital for Kansas, nearly unlimited in its issues, and in the denomination of its notes, from one dollar up and down. Some because of what they consider a Know Nothing clause, by requiring that the Governor shall have seen twenty years a citiz n of the United States. Some because the elective franchise is not free, as they cannot vote against the onstitution, but only on the single issue, whether any more slaves may be imported, and then only upon that issue by voting for the constitution to zes and adopts the Oxford fraud in apportioning egislative members for Johnson county, upon the fraudulent and fictitious returns, so falsely called, rom that precint, which recognition of that fraud in the constitution is abhorrent to the moral sense of the people. Others oppose because, although n other cases the presidents of conventious have been authorized to issue writs of election to the regular Tyrritorial and State officers with the usual judges, with the stablished precincts and adjudication of returns, in this case unprecedented and vice-regal powers are given to the preslent of the convention to make the precincts, the udges, and to decide finally upon the returns. From the grant of these unusual and senermous powers, and from other reasons connected with the rand lent returns of Oxford and McGee, an overwas lining insjority of the people of Kansus have no faith in the vall ity of those returns, and therefore will not vote. Indeed, discuise is as we may ourselves, under the influence of the present excitement, the facts will demonstrate that any atsempt by Congr as to force this constitution upon the people of Kansas will be an effort to substitute the will of a small minority for that of an overwhelming majority of the people of Kansa; that it will not settle the Kansas question or localize the esoc; that it will, I fear, be attended by civil war, extending, perhaps, throughout the Union-and thus bringing this question back again upon Congrees and before the people in its most dangerous

and slarming aspect. The President takes a different view of the subet in his messag; and, from the events occurring in Kausas as well as here, it is evident that the question is passing from theories into practice; would be deemed sufficient cause for thier removal.

*supreme law, and obligatory as such; but a law individual convention. And here I wish moval.

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*supreme law, and obligatory as such; but a law individual convention. And here I wish moval.

*supreme law, and obligatory as such; but a law individual convention. And here I wish to the constitutional convention. And here I wish with my views of the federal Countitation, of the call laws imply law-makers; and in this case, to call attention to the distinction, which will appear in my flusquiral address, in reference to those the people of Eauna. Under these circumstances.

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No one can more deeply regret than myself this vote was given or could be given, however anx- iginal instructions, and thus pr serve the peace of by the previous neglect of Territorial officers, the a point so vital as the submission of the constitudelegates to the convention in any one of these all my life, and which, as involving fundament the people of that Territory, and could rightfully | the policy of his administration in other respect impose a constitution upon them without their con- it will give me pleasure, as a private calizen, to

which there was no registry, gave a much larger | my arrival there, and the question of self-lovernvote at the October election, even with the six- ment had been substituted in its place. On some months qualification, than the whole vote given future occasion I shall dis ipst the delusion which aft r three years' experiment, when I arrived If, then, sovereignty can be deligated, and con- Kansas, there were less than three handred slaves v otions, as such, are sovereign, which I deny, there, and the number constants diminishing, that reasons, that in my Inaugural and other addresses | Kansas, is colder than that of New England, and ted to the people by the convention, as the only sas, consolidated with the pro-slavery Territorial means of curing this vital defect in its organiza- legislature, on the 4th of January, 1857, nearly It was, therefore, among other reasons, five months before my arrival there, did distinct when, as you know, the organization of the so-cale | abandon the slavery issue, because, as set forth by led Topeka State government, and as a consequence one of their number, "the pro-slavery party was my assuring, not the abolitionists, as has been er- the only hope of success, not to make Kansas a cously stated-for my address was not to them, slave State, which was conceded to be impossible the constitution would be submitted fairly and tree- Even as late as the 3d of July, 1857, when the compton, in consequence of the laws of climate the people, as I now do, in "lawful opposition" to and the well known will of the people, cone contended that slavery could be established there. Nor was it until my southern opponents interfered in the affairs of Kansas, and by denunciation, menace and otherwise, aided at a critical period, by several federal office-holders of Kansas, including the surveyor general; (the president of the convention neluding his immense patronage, embracing many hundred employees, intervened, and, as I believe, without the knowledge or approvation of the President of the United States, produced the extraordinary paper called the Lecompton constitution. Yet this act of intervention by federal officers to lefeat the will of the people seems to be sustained Topeka State government then assembled in legis by my opponent; while my intervention, as it is lative session would have been put into immediate | called, in obedience to my duty and oath of office actual operation, and that a sanguinary collision to support the federal Constitution, and to take with the federal army and civil war must have en- | care that our organic law should be fairly executed, by endeavoring to secure to the people, o In leed, the whole idea of an inaugural address | Kansas their rights under that act, is denounced originated in the alarming intelligence which had and calumniated. It is still more extraordinary, reached Washington city of the perilous and in- that the hypothetical remarks made by me as re cipient rebellion in Kanas. This insurrection was | gards climate in its connection with its influence rendered still more formidable on my reaching the upon the question of slavery in Kansas, after that Territory by the near approach of the assembling issue had been abandoned there, which views were of the revolutionary State Legislature, and the very | consolidating the union between conservative Free numerous mass conventions by which it was sus. | State, and pro-slavery democrats, so as to prevent the confiscation of the small number of slaves ing that insurrection, at whatever cost of American | then held in Kansas, and have been denounced by blood, by the federal army, or to prevent the terri- many distinguished Southern Senators, who when people to the exertion of all my power to obtain a gress, and when such remark from them, if ever, fair election, and the submission of the constitu- | might affect southern emigration, were then loudest in preclaiming that, because of its climate, Kansas could never become a Slave State. Indeed,

view to prevent, as they did in this case, civil war | tions, except the governor of that Territory, who has so little power and no patronage. And now be pleased to express to the President my deep regret as regards our unfortunate difference of opinion in relation to the Lecompton constitution, and to say to him, that as infallibility does not belong to man, however exalted his intellect, purity of intention or position, yet if he has committed any errors in this respect, may they fore stated, required that the constitution should be overruled by a superintending Providence, for be submitted to the vote of the people, and I was the perpetuation of our Union, and the advances therefore only performing a solemn duty, when, as | ment of the honor and interests of our beloved

In now dissolving my official connection with your department, I beg leave to tender to you my thanks for your constant courtesy and kindness. Most respectfully, your ob't serv't,

The Treasury Note Bill,

The following is an outline of the bill in roduced into the Senste by Mr. HUSTER, of Va., for the issue of Treasury notes:

It authorizes the President to cause soms to be sued as the exigencies of the public service may require, but not to exce d at any time the amount of \$20,000,000, nor to be of a less denomination than fi fivdollars, the notes to be paid and redeem ed at the Treasury one year from the date of such otes, until they shall be respectively redeemed They shall bear such rates of interest as shall be expressed in said notes, which rates of interest upon the first issue which shall not exceed \$6,-000,000, shall be fixed by the Secretary of the ections, it is certainly much more respectful to | may direct, by exchanging them at their par valuof said notes the interest thereon shall cease. the expiration of 60 days notice of readiness to pay and redeem the same, which may at any time be posed of for any purpose whatever, either directsigned. The notes are to be received by the proper officers in payment of all debts and tax-s levied I state that it is a fact, based on a long and inti- by the authority of the United States and in paymate association with the people of Kansas, that | ment for public lands, and on every such payment an overwhelming majority of that people are opa credit shall be given for the amount of the principosed to that instrument, and my letters state that | pal and interest due on such notes the day on but one out of twenty of the press of Kansas sus- | which they shall be received by such officers. Autain it. Some oppose it because so many counties | thority is given to purchase said notes at a proper were disfranchised and unrepresented in the con- amount on the principal and interest at any time. The remainder of the bill relates to details and provides a penalty for forgery, and appropriates \$20,000 to carry it into effect.

CRISP'S GAIETY THEATRE.

W. H. CRISP. Lessee and Manager, FRIDAY EVENING. DEC. 25th, HAPPY CHRISTMAS! Last night but one of the NEW IST BILL OF THE SEASON! Three celebrated Acts from which they are opposed. They regard this as but a mockery of the elective franchise, and a perilous sporting with the sacred right of the people. Some oppose becauses the constitution distinctly recognizes and adopts the Oxford fraud in apportioning of the Oxford fraud in the Oxford fraud fraud in the Oxford fraud in the Oxford fraud in the Oxford fraud in the Oxford fraud frau Prices of Attarfavion. - Dress Circle, \$1; Second Tier, 50 cts for Office now open, and till equilibre daily from 9 to 12, and from 2 to 4 P M. seats conf by Tecured three days in advance. Doors open at a quarte ore seven, commencing at half-past seven s'clock, / FOR LOUISVILLE AND CINCINNATIM

THE light draught steamer PEIN
CES, SIRR, Master, will leave
THIS DAY, 25th inst., at 12 o'clock M.
for the above and all intermediate landings. For freight or passage apply on board, or to a. HANIL: FOR MEMPHIS. THE U. S. Mail Packet J. G. CLINE, ELLIOT, Master, will leave for the above and all interven

ate ports, on MONDAY, 2017 lost., at \$ o'closs. P. M.

For freight or passage apply on board, or to A. L. DAVIS, Agent. Cranberries.

HAVE 20 burrel, excellent Cranbernes for mil a Campbell & Cobb's Coma store, No. 40, Murket street, (ry-1 will sell, by the bu her, gailon or quart. U. D. ALLEN.

LEASE FOR BALE THE unexal ed time of a ten years lease of that value-ble and commodicas warehouse, No. 71 Public reparts, at present occupied by A. J. Die can & Lo. Terms Regard. BRANS ORD, MCWHIRFER & Co.

NEGRO WOMAN FOR SALE NEGRO WOMAN, 50 years old, fair cook, good washer A tomer, and meanwhrene. Near and tidy in habite, and of good dispatition, will not be sale to a trader. Ap-BRANSPORD, MCWHIRTER & CO.

MULES, MULES. WILL sell upon liberal terms 26 No. 1 moles, all in goo doc25-cf 0 No. 3, Nashville Inn Binek. IRON, NAILS AND CASTINGS.

From the National Era. My Father's Birthday.

BY ANN PRESTOR. 'Tis again our father's birthday! changed, how changed, Blessed in other sucny harvests, growned with sheaves and Still the summer air is laden with the fragrant breath of hay, Still the restling grain is ripening through the long and

quiet day; Birds and breezes still are singing olden songs in household And, from farm to farm outringing, sounds of gougs are blent with these; But they call not thee, dear father, to thy place the beard Summoned to another table-gathered with the same ified; nd of all the kindred faces which a ound thee daily drew With their love, and hope, and gladness, here, to-day, are

Backward, past the buried summers, have I gone in thought to-day-Gone where Hope, the Morning Singer, chaunted wild her early lay; And along the years, O father, firm, and wise, and just, and Was thy presence as a shelter dear and ample to thy There thy strong heart bore our burdens, there thy sm le and tone femain. Sweet as when thy words of soutling strangely chased away

Self-denying, single-hearted, not for selfish ends thou Just the simple truth, the kernel, straight in everything thou sought; Holding first the Paith sustaining, on the rock of Du y firm; Thou upbeld thine own convictions, fearing never man, the Not for thee a form unmeaning, only kept that men may Thou wast called to preach thefreedom which befitteth sons So thou blessed the world in walking bravely in thy line of Leaving unto God the issue of thy warfare for the Right. And thou lived with us in sweetness, frank and genial as a

Keeping still the morning freshness and the loving spirit But there came a change of sadness-falling strength and And thou leaned on us, dear father, who had leaned so long on thee! Self-forgetting, still thy spirit throbbed for bowed and suffer-While thy dear face grew yet paler, and more slow the life-Meckly thou accepted sickness; thou had worked while it

And, from all the years behind thee, memories sweet come round thy way.

And the peace of God divinely e'er thy thankful spirit rolled,
While the faithful Hand thou'd trusted led thee gently to the

Ob! the sweets of many Hayings o'er you meadow float And the hearts of olden summers tremble in these leaves On these green fields dearer beauty from thy victues has Unto us the ground seems holy, over which thy feet have Darkness is not left behind thee, for we know the just man's way, As a shining light, still shineth more and more to perfect Loving more, and more uplifted grow we for our sainted dead! Blooms immortal here are watered by the tears which love Oh! we deal with things eternal-earth is lighted from above ; Sorrows, mysteries, wrongs, and changes, quench not Beauty, Truth and Love For the rich celestial sweetness good men leave where they For my father, housed from tempest, bless I Thee, my fath-

NEGROES FOR HIRE. BOUT 15 negroes for hire, among others one of the best blacksmiths in t e county. Apply at No, 41 therry

EXTRA FLOUR. 1,000 BARRELS EXTRA FLOUR, in store and for P. & C. ANDERSON.

HARNESS LEATHER.

A LOT OF EXTRA HARNE S LEATHER, instore, which e sold at reduced prices by P. & C. ANDERSON,

Holiday Presents. REAT attraction, at No. 42 Public Square. 2003 valua-ble Lots of splendid French China, Papir Macre and other rich goods, to be given away. The Citizens of Nashwill and vicinity are respectfully informed that politive orders have been received to close the entire large stock of French Chins, according to the following unpresented liberal plan, viz: Every purchaser of a splendid Motto Cup and Sancer for only \$8, will be entitled to a present. In order to determine what the articles will be they have entitled to a present and determine what the articles will be they have entitled to be considered to be considered. weloped two thousand cords, thing the number and describing the los; pure avers can at the steel a car , and French Chi a, vis: Gold Band Tea So ts. Also a rich se sortment of Fancy China Vases, Card Baskets, Tete a Tete Setts, Colognes, Figures, Ink tands, Mat o Mug , Toy Tea Setts, splendid Papier Mache Tables, Tox Travs This even-

inue every day and evening until further notice. ec 25-tf. BENJ. F. SHIELDS.

SHERIFF'S SALE. BY wirtue of an execution, to me directed, from the Honorable Circuit court of Davidson County, I will proceed to ell to the highest mode for cash, on Saturday, the 9 h January, 1858, 15,000 Cedar Rairoad Ties, or a sufficient number of them to satisfy an excention in may hands to me dir cted as above, cale to take place in Edgefie doon the Nashville and Louisville Sailroad, near the residence of Capt. James Miller, or the new digefield Church. Levind upon to satisfy an execution to favor of N. O. Lave, again that Radfood. Sale with the house presurbed by Law. J. K. EDMUNDON, Steriff,

By R. P. ESTES, rep'y Sheriff. dec25 - td

Chancery Court at Nashville. Jas. C. Owen vs M. Bell's Executors and others. A 7 the office of the Clerk and Master of the Chancery Court at Nashville, on the 74 h day of December, 1837, on motion of complainant, by counsel in the above cause and it appearing to the satisfaction of the clerk and master that the said defendant, Henry H. Chris mas is a con-res dent of the State of Tennessee, and therefore the ordinary process of this court cannot be served upon him, it is the ere ordered by the c'erk and master that publication b made for four weeks in succession in the Na boile Patrot, a newspaper published in the city of Nashville, requiring the said defendant is appear at the next term of the Chancery court to be boilen for the county of Davidson, at the court house thereof, in the city of Nashville, on the first Monday be taken for confessed as to him and set down for hearing

dec25-w4t pr'sfec\$8. Clerk and Muster. Eclectic Monthly Magazine. THE January number is validated this we k. This num her glone is embillished with 14 beautif the energy ed cortraits by Sartain; | LIZAUSTH RABBETT BROWNING, Sir Walter Foott, Lord Jespart, Worldworth, Lockholt,

Prof. a mass, etc. It sur a ses all it ansections, con ents are rich and varied from the foreign Quarte contains the cream of the Foreign Quarterlies. contains articles from the ablest pens of England. contains sixteen beautiful portralts he portraits are worth half the price of the work. It con ains three large volumes, double columns, 1800

It is believed to be the best magazine of permanent value Twelve months of the Folkeric nearly equals sixteen months of Blackwoods, and nearl equals three entire En-We muste a few of the man | notes of commendation we

Commendations of the Eclectric. From the Pey, Dr. Bacon, of the Central Church, New-Hizmen.

judgment and good has a from the whole range of British periodical il craiure. No publication of the kind, within my knowledge, affords o rich a supply of miscrilaneous reading for an intelligent family. LEONARD BACON.

NEW HAVES, July 1, 1857. (The selections my the Folsoms are made with much From the Hon. Theodore & Frelinghuyaes, President of

Butgers College. I could not affort to take all the Foreign Quarterlies and Magazi es, if I without and if I had them I have not time to tracel over all the reaces to find that is in the ; but in the conserve I find, in well-selected articles, nearly NEW BAUMSWICE Dec. 7, 1857. From Rev. Dr. Humphrey, of Amherst College.

I have long been a reader and admirer of the locatric Massacres, and I am not acquainted with any periodical so rich in the stillity and variety of its monthly articles. It seems to me to surpass all its cotemporaries for interesting and instructive family reading, as it ought to do con idering the wide range of which the Editor avails himself in his selections. I wish it a wide chiculation.
Property, Oct. 8, 1857. H. HUMPHREY. From Prof. Shepard, of Bangor,

I regard the I cameric Managing as a very valuable work-of a standard character and permanent worth-giving the absect and test in a brief space, and at a moderate price, rejecting the shallow and an contable Ba o a Aug 11, 1857. G.O. SHEPA G.O. SHEPARD. From Bee, Dr. Hawke An acque intance with the principal contents of the lead-

ing Foreign Magazines is confessed, indispensable to every one who would keep case with the progress of the night and of knowledge in our day. They are, however, so many and so costly, that few can obtain or even read he whom if them. The Following performs well it e task of winnowing the school from these publications, thus making what is most valuable in their pages accessible to the American CAVALBY CHUSCH, New York, Nov. 7, 1867. From the Independent,

The Folsonic is a standard periodical. It has a rich table of contest . What is left of the Foleign Regions and Magasines, effectle requier morthly skimming to only mik, Opinion of the Judges at the late and not cream. From the New York Tril une.

The contents of this standard periodical continues to exbib't the universe excelence which has given he work such a high reputation with all readers of refines literary tases. It has no element of the cut-b-print in its com-position, but always fulfile its promises by a judicious sebecome of the most valuable papers in the periodical litera-ture of the season, enabling its readers to enjoy, a salight expense, the cream of a var ety of popular works.

1858. The January number for 1808 will be embellished with forcion of the portraits of eminent percent, and twenty-nive pertraits or transitiful engraving in this year, surpass

ing an the other magazines. I ere a no mutake tere. It should be on the parior table of every intelligent family, and in their library, to endighten the mind, combest the R-Try it-you will like it. TERMS.

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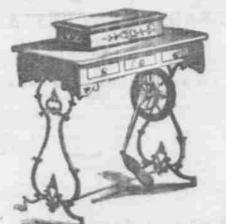
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